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Eight Hours

THE WORKERS AND THE EIGHT-HOUR WORKDAY

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SHORTER WORKDAY ITS PHILOSOPHY

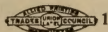
By SAMUEL GOMPERS

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The Workers and the Eight-Hour Workday

A Reply to the Socialist Politicians' Pamphlet and Pronunciamento, in Which their Mask of Hypocrisy is Torn Away and the True Inwardness of their Antagonism is Disclosed, and Labor's Position for the Attainment of an Eight-Hour Workday—a Shorter Workday—is Set Forth

By SAMUEL GOMPERS

THE Socialist political party is at it again. The history of the American Socialist party is a series of efforts to subordinate the trade union movement to its party politics or to destroy what it could not control. Again it has made an open attack upon the American Federation of Labor. This time upon a new tack, but with the usual bitter antagonism characteristic of the attitude of political Socialists to the work and the policy of the trade union movement and the practical struggle for the attainment of a better life and immediate industrial benefits and withal to maintain freedom and human liberty.

This last attack of the Socialist political party takes the form of a pamphlet issued by its Executive Committee avowedly for the purpose of establishing *by law* an eight-hour workday for all working people but really for the purpose of misrepresenting the principles and discrediting the purposes of the trade union movement, in order that more votes may be secured for the Socialist party. The Socialist party hopes to profit by disrupting the trade union movement. It has issued a pamphlet attacking the A. F. of L. and its delegates and officers because at the Philadelphia Convention the following was adopted:

A. F. of L. Position On Eight Hours

The A. F. of L. as in the past again declares that the question of the regulation of wages and the hours of labor should be undertaken through trade union activity and not be made subjects of law, through legislative enactment excepting in so far as such regulations affect and govern the employment of women and minors, health and morals and in employment by federal, state and municipal government.

Socialist Anxiety or Hostility

Though for years it has been very industrious in devising plans to hamstring the A. F. of L., and has never hesitated to try methods of any nature to attain that purpose, now the Executive Committee of the Socialist party,

announces its great solicitude lest the A. F. of L. shall be injured, its standing impaired, its future endangered, by the action of the Philadelphia Convention in declaring that it is safer, surer and more conformable to success with freedom to secure the eight-hour day, or a shorter workday, by economic action than by the effort to secure it by law. Such touching anxiety! Such sublime disregard of the fundamental fact that trade unions are economic organizations seeking to attain an economic purpose—the limitation of working hours by economic forces and methods.

It is surely quite pertinent to inquire why the Socialist political party of America and its leading spokesman are so solicitous for the progress and continued strength of the A. F. of L., and to investigate those matters upon which they have attitudinized toward the A. F. of L.

The trade union movement was firmly rooted and had become a real agency for industrial betterment for the wage-earners before Socialistic political teachings had been foisted upon them. The American workers regarded the Socialistic party schemes for redeeming and regenerating society as an exotic of more or less interest, but of no practical value in helping them to higher wages, shorter workday and better working conditions for themselves.

But the zealots and the political partisans were determined that the American workers should be saved from their "narrow" conceptions that improvement of working conditions depended upon their ability to control economic forces. Accordingly the zealots sought converts to the political faith. The American wage-earners were loth to be caught—they chose substantial immediate benefits rather than promises of sun, moon, stars, the earth and the fullness thereof at some indefinite future. Then as ever has been the practice of dogmatic saviors of mankind, the Socialist politicians sought converts by force and by guile. Since the trade union movement would not willingly place its power at the services of the Socialist political party and swell the votes for Socialist seekers of offices, the Socialist party determined to capture the trade union movement.

The "Entering Wedge"

In 1890 the first open effort was made to gain an entering wedge for the party to dominate the labor movement of America. The Central Labor Union of New York City, dominated by the Socialist political party, surrendered its charter to the A. F. of L. Later, desirous of retrieving its mistake, the C. L. U. made application for a charter, which was refused because the Socialist political party was represented in the central body. Upon this issue, the Socialists determined to make their fight upon the A. F. of L. They planned to make a great onslaught upon the A. F. of L. convention at Detroit. The party leaders came with the backing of the political Socialists of America for the purpose of dominating the convention, and forcing an economic organization to recognize the right of a delegate of a political party to representation in its deliberations.

Lucian Sanial presented credentials to the Detroit Convention from the New York Central Labor Federation. That body was not chartered by the

A. F. of L. and the credential was not accepted, nevertheless Mr. Sanial was given an opportunity to make a statement. I reported the New York situation to the convention. The matter was also discussed in the Executive Council's report.

In my report I said:

Some few months ago the Central Federation of Labor of New York City made an application for a certificate of affiliation. It was accompanied by a list of the organizations attached to that body. At the head of the list was the name of the American section of the Socialist labor party. The matter received my keenest thought and best judgment. I consulted the constitution and saw there clearly defined which organizations were entitled to affiliation with the A. F. of L. The Socialist labor party or any other party or section of a party is not included among the number. But apart from any constitutional considerations, I believed then and am convinced now that the Socialist labor party, *as a party*, is not entitled to representation in a purely trade union organization.

The matter occupied two days of discussion at the convention, as well as the consideration of a committee, which recommended the following:

1st. That we recommend the cordial acceptance of the proffered fraternity of the S. L. P. as embodied in the address of Mr. Sanial. The hope and aspiration of the trade unionists is closely akin to that of the Socialist. That the burden of toil shall be made lighter, that men shall possess larger liberty, that the days to be shall be better than those that have been, may properly be the ideal of those in all movements for labor reform.

2d. We recognize, however, that men of different schools of reform thought often to seek to arrive at the same end by different roads. This right of difference must be considered. This is the logical outcome of variation in circumstances, of birth, education and temperament. We affirm the trade union movement to be the legitimate channel through which the wage-earners of America are seeking present amelioration and future emancipation. Its methods are well defined, its functions specialized, its work clearly mapped out.

3d. We further hold that the trade unions of America, comprising the A. F. of L., are committed against the introduction of matters pertaining to partisan politics, to the religion of men or to their birthplace. We can not logically admit the S. L. P. to representation and shut the door in the face of other political organizations formed to achieve social progress. We are of opinion that a political party of whatsoever nature is not entitled to representation in the A. F. of L. While, therefore, deprecating the necessity which has arisen of refusing to admit those who seek our comradeship, we feel compelled to make the following recommendations:

First. That the credentials of Lucian Sanial, from the Central Labor Federation of New York City be returned.

Second. That the position taken by President Gompers and the Executive Council in regard to the old charter of the C. L. F. of New York be affirmed on the ground that the C. L. F. did virtually cease to exist and forfeited thereby its charter.

Third. That the decision of President Gompers against granting a new charter to said organization be affirmed, as the decision by this body is in accord with the meaning and intent of our constitution.

Fourth. That the delegates to this convention, while declining to admit representatives from the S. L. P. as a political party, declare themselves tolerant of all phases of the reform movement and would bar no delegates as an individual because of his belief, whether radical or conservative.

W. J. SHIELDS
JOHN B. LENNON
W. J. CANNON
FRANK L. RIST
FRANK K. FOSTER, *Secretary*

A lengthy discussion ensued but finally the report of the committee was adopted by an overwhelming vote and has stood as the position of the A. F. of L. ever since.

The central body of New York receded from its position, excluded the representatives of the Socialist political party from representation and applied for a charter. The charter was then granted, and the New York Central Federated Union has been in entire harmony and cordial relations with the A. F. of L. from that day to this. That ended the effort of the Socialist political party to secure direct representation as a party in the councils of the A. F. of L. or in its central bodies.

The Next Move

But the party did not desist from its efforts to control or destroy the trade union movement as a few instances will tell.

In 1893, Mr. Eugene V. Debs, while an officer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, accepted the presidency of the so-called American Railway Union and worked with might and main for the extermination of all the railroad brotherhoods, the bona fide unions of the railway workers. Mr. Debs was supported in his efforts by the Socialist political party of the country which endorsed the new organization.

Later, Mr. Debs having failed in this one object, he dissolved his American Railway Union and established the so-called American Labor Union, with the avowed purpose of crushing the American trade union movement as comprehended and understood by the wage-earners united in the A. F. of L. In this course of action he had the fullest support of the Socialist political party of America. Because the political partyites who claimed to be inspired by utopian ideals but condescended to the political practices of machine politics of the type used by corrupt politicians, were still unable to dominate the American labor movement and harness it to their political kite, they undertook to organize an economic movement that would be all their own and therefore pliant and usable. Then the Socialist political party entered the economic field where the workers were already organized and began "to organize."

The so-called Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was launched with the open declaration that it was to destroy and drive out of existence the A. F. of L., and to supplant it by their high sounding titled organization. That, too, went by the board.

In 1905 was formed the preposterous Industrial Workers of the World, and again the "trade union movement was doomed." The same Socialist representatives who had taken the initiative in every effort to break down trade unionism assembled for the creation of this new enemy masquerading as a movement of the workers of the world. But these artificialities could not be engrafted upon the healthy, normal American trade union movement.

The Socialist political party adherents openly declared and fondly hoped that this newest effort would surely within a very brief time disintegrate the trade union movement, the A. F. of L. How these conglomerations,

these fantastic vaporescences—the creations of the fervid brains of the Socialist political party leaders—fared, is history too well known to be recounted here.

Less than a year ago, Mr. Eugene V. Debs made a stirring appeal for the disruption of the A. F. of L., addressing himself to the United Mine Workers of America and to the Western Federation of Miners, exhorting them to withdraw from the A. F. of L. and to set up a rival organization to it.

But neither the irritating, pin-pricking tactics of the Socialists politicians' local assaults and disrupting methods, personal attacks upon and vilifications of trade unionists, nor vulture-like attacks upon the labor movement, have prevented the growth and the forward progress of the A. F. of L.

For more than thirty years the Socialist political party in one form or another never halted, never stopped, in the effort either to capture the A. F. of L., the trade union movement, or, in the language of the street, "to put it in a hole."

After being frustrated in the effort at direct representation of the party in the A. F. of L., proposition after proposition was introduced in order to commit the organization to Socialist policies. For fully fifteen years, at each successive convention of the A. F. of L., Socialist representatives sought to fasten upon the movement a declaration favoring state socialism, the government to be the employer, the workers to enlist to toil in governmental employment wearing industro-political straight jackets. To quote again Brand Whitlock's trenchant remark, "Socialists would provide for everything except freedom." Beaten and halted by the discussion and the unfailing discernment and uncompromising decisions of the delegates to the conventions of the general labor movement of America, this pretentious effort of the Socialist political party failed to fasten its tentacles upon our movement.

The party leaders changed their attack and then began a campaign subtle in conception and superficially plausible. The new cause they espoused was for the election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by the initiative and referendum. Now, no liberty loving, progressive man can oppose the largest liberty and opportunity for activities of the rank and file, particularly in determining who their officers for the time being shall be. The Socialists knew that the proposal to elect the officers of a federated movement by the initiative and referendum was impracticable, but they hoped to embarrass the A. F. of L. by forcing it to oppose what superficially seems a democratic proposition. After a thorough investigation of the entire subject a report made thereon to the Rochester Convention, showing clearly, first, that the largest number of the organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L. did not have the machinery by which the initiative and referendum could be carried out, and that this method, therefore, was impossible of introduction; secondly, that no national labor movement of the civilized world had established the initiative and referendum as a system by which its officers were elected. Still this campaign of the Socialists was used for several years in an effort to create dissension, or at least to create the impression that the trade unionists desired to deny the workers the fullest and freest expression of their will. Finally it had worn itself out and was abandoned for a new attack.

Because the officers of the labor movement endeavored to bring the gospel of labor to large employers with a view of reaping some advantage to the toilers of our country, they were made the object of vicious and defamatory attacks. The Socialist politicians tried to create the impression that their efforts to further the welfare of the workers were efforts to work in collusion with employers of labor. The charge, no matter how often and insistently repudiated by the leaders of the labor movement of our country, was repeated with ever increasing virulence. Over and over in written and spoken statements I have repeatedly asserted that there was not and could not be harmony of interests between workmen and employers, but that has not stopped willful misrepresentation. If any reader doubts what I here aver, ask any Socialist politician.

The Socialist politicians knew well that there was no ground for charges and insinuations of insincerity or faithlessness on the part of the American trade unionists, but they predicated their campaign of misrepresentation and vilification upon the old concept that if mud is thrown often enough and in sufficient quantities, the hope may be entertained that some of it will stick.⁴

But hopes and concepts in this direction have miscarried and the campaign of opposition was then changed to another tack. This time it was to raise the hue and cry for so-called "Industrial Unionism, one big union." And this doctrine was harped upon in season and out of season for several years in the effort to have the American trade union movement disrupt organizations which have done so much for the toilers in improving their standards and conditions of life, and follow the will-o'-the-wisp.

The Executive Council made a comprehensive report to the Rochester (1912) Convention upon the subject of industrial unionism. In that report they called attention to the natural development of the trade union movement of the country; to the fact that the forms of present organization were the result of adaptation to circumstances and needs and that the guiding principle underlying all policies was self-government. The committee made the following fundamental declarations:

The future success, permanency and safety of the A. F. of L., as well as the trade unions themselves, depends upon the recognition and application of the principle of autonomy, consistent with the varying phases and transitions in industry.

It is impossible to define the exact line of demarcation where one trade or form of labor ends and another begins and that no hard and fast rule can be devised by which all our trade unions can be governed or can govern themselves.

We emphasize the impossibility of the establishment of hard and fast lines; but if history and experience in the labor movement count for aught we urge upon our fellow-workmen that toleration and forbearance which are proverbial of our movement, for, without the recognition and application of these qualities any decision we may formulate will be futile.

The committee recommended that there was no need for a radical change from the policies that the A. F. of L. had pursued, for they believed that the greatest freedom was necessary for the greatest progress and development and furthermore recommended that the interests of the trade union movement will be best promoted by closely allied and subdivided crafts, giving con-

sideration to amalgamation and to the organization of district and trade union councils.

When that bubble of industrial unionism, "one big union," was punctured by showing that the American labor movement had been working and was still striving to bring about the closest alliance, cooperation and amalgamation among the organized workers of America, the Socialist party politicians again changed their tack. And this, the latest effort, is to have America's workers commit themselves to a movement for the establishment of the eight-hour workday by law in private industry.

A. F. of L. on Political Action

The A. F. of L. has always advocated independent political action and the independent use of the ballot. It has always held that the wage-earners must regard the attitude of candidates upon industrial problems rather than the parties to which they belong. It has held that by withholding endorsement of any particular party it maintained its freedom and power to secure from any or all of the parties necessary demands in return for Labor's support upon a particular issue. In other words, Labor has been partisan to principles rather than to parties.

The wage-earners have been immediately concerned with establishing for themselves economic freedom and better conditions of work and they realize that these problems have to be worked out in the economic field. However, when the employers of labor began to employ political forces in industrial contests they waged with their employees; when the courts discovered the use to which injunctions could be put to oppose the effort of the workers in establishing more advantageous relations with their employers; when all of the machinery of law and government was invoked to oppose the working people in their efforts to better their conditions; when the highest court of the United States interpreted the Sherman antitrust law in such a manner as to endanger the very existence of the organizations of labor, it became manifest that the wage-earners must adopt an immediate political policy that would secure immediate relief from perversions of judicial agencies and the misrepresentation of legislation by the judiciary. The need was imperative. In order to make action effective, Labor must secure immediate and positive results.

The A. F. of L. decided upon the only political policy that promised any effective relief and in 1906 inaugurated its active political policy for the purpose of defeating its enemies and securing the election of those who were favorable to human rights and legislation necessary to maintain those rights. The A. F. of L. appealed to the Congressmen who were powerful enough to enact the necessary legislation. In 1908 it had secured endorsement for its demands in the party platform of one party.

There was no possibility that the Socialist political party could have secured the enactment of the legislation necessary to protect the existence of organized labor within a century, and yet because the American trade union movement did not allow the necessity of Labor to become a Socialist political

asset in their futile effort to introduce the Socialist "cooperative commonwealth" the Socialist political party denounced the effort of organized labor to secure remedial legislation and interposed all opposition within its power to the success of that action. It made this opposition despite the fact that it was well known that political action was necessary to insure the existence of organized labor. This "dog in the manger" policy was willing to have the trade union movement destroyed unless it would consign its welfare to the hands of the Socialist political party.

In Germany, where the trade unions are forbidden to take any political action, no matter what the purpose may be, this dogmatic attitude is carried even to such a length that Carl Legien, president of the International Federation of Trade Unions, was forbidden under the laws of Germany even to send to trade unions of other European countries letters containing the declaration of the Seattle A. F. of L. Convention in connection with disarmament and the advisability of promoting a "naval holiday" in order that an end might be put to the competition in armament between nations. Thus political activity of the German trade union movement is prohibited—a position much to the liking of the party there.

But the political policy adopted by the A. F. of L. proved effective. By constant agitation and dissemination of the facts in regard to legislation, and the legislative records of representatives and senators, the attitude of the national Congress became increasingly sympathetic toward the needs and the demands of organized labor. The fundamental political demand of organized labor was for a law which should exempt the workers wholly from the purview of trust legislation and which would free them from awards and jails for the exercise of those activities necessary to make effective the purposes of the labor movement.

A. F. of L. Trust and Injunction Legislation

Only upon the hypothesis that human workers were of the same substance and class with the products which they produced could trust legislation be interpreted to apply to them equally as it applied to the commodities and articles of commerce which they produced. Labor denied this hypothesis and asserted as the basis for its legislative demands that labor power is inseparable from the human body and hence can not be a commodity or article of commerce. Before it was possible to secure the enactment of legislation specifically assuring wage-earners the right of organization and the right to such activities as are necessary to make organization effective, organized labor sought to have the fundamental principle for which it contended incorporated into the law. A strategic opportunity presented itself when the provisions of the Sundry Civil Service bill was under consideration. In connection with the appropriation for the Department of Justice, Representative Hamill of New Jersey offered the following proviso:

Provided, however, that no part of this money shall be expended in the prosecution of any organization or individual, for entering into any combination or agreement having in view the increasing of wages, the shortening of hours, or bettering the conditions of labor, or for any act done in furtherance thereof not in itself unlawful.

Socialist Berger's Anti-Labor Veto Votes

This provision is based upon the principle that trust legislation does not apply to organizations of wage-earners. Its embodiment in a federal law was of fundamental strategic importance to Labor in the campaign it was making to secure remedial legislation. The very fact that Congress went on record as endorsing the principle after having thoroughly discussed its application was a great victory for Labor. However, during the closing days of his administration, President Taft vetoed the appropriation bill, and gave as his sole reason for that veto the fact that the bill contained the above quoted provision favorable to Labor. When the bill was returned to the House and was again under consideration for passage over the veto of the President, Congressman Victor L. Berger, the only Socialist congressman up to his time, voted to sustain President Taft's veto of that bill. Mr. Berger is one of the Executive Board of the Socialist political party which prepared and issued the pamphlet under discussion attacking the A. F. of L. In no more definite manner could the only representative of the Socialist political party have demonstrated his hostility to the interests and purposes of the trade union movement than by thus joining the enemies of human rights and the advocates of special privilege.

And now the Socialist political party is expressing great solicitude for the preservation of the A. F. of L. It is deeply concerned lest the trade union movement should go wrong. Members of the Socialist political party are apprehensive lest in advocating an eight-hour law they may be stigmatized as enemies of Labor, but they have already earned that distinction by their incessant opposition to the trade union movement, emphasized by the action of their one representative in Congress.

The A. F. of L. has never denied that political action is necessary to protect some of the interests of the wage-earners and to secure for them the greatest amount of freedom. It has never held itself aloof from political action as the annual reports made to the conventions of the A. F. of L. prove beyond a doubt; as the activities of the trade union movement in every state and community prove. What the wage-earners have been able to secure because of their economic strength is set forth in the various annual reports that I have made to the International Federation of Trade Unions. These constitute a splendid record of legislative gains both state and national. They show that the trade unionists are fully aware how to use all agencies to promote their welfare. The only real grievance that the Socialist political party has against the American trade union movement is that these magnificent gains have been made without the assistance of that party, aye, despite its hostility.

Did the Socialist political party at any time in the history and in the work of the A. F. of L. support any fundamental declaration or policy which the A. F. of L. has made, or any effort made in pursuit of its work? If that organization has done so it has escaped my most vigilant concern. Our efforts to secure constructive and remedial legislation have always been underestimated, ridiculed and antagonized. The Socialist party would have the masses of Labor to wait until "the dawn of a new era" which they might inaugurate at nine o'clock some morning if it did not rain.

Upon the question in which there is practically unanimous sentiment among the people of America and many of the other civilized nations of the world, to protect our civilization from the influx of the hordes of Chinese, the Socialist political party is on the other side. The American people have recognized the necessity for self-protection against practically unrestricted immigration. The Socialist political party has antagonized the workers of America in every movement to secure protection along this line.

When the Congress of the United States passed an immigration regulation bill by an overwhelming vote, President Taft vetoed it and the "only" Socialist Congressman, Victor L. Berger, voted to sustain Mr. Taft's veto.

A. F. of L.'s Campaign for Freedom

When the United States Supreme Court interpreted the Sherman anti-trust law to apply to the working people—to the trade union movement—and when the judiciary began issuing unwarrantable injunctions and the A. F. of L. undertook a political campaign for the purpose of securing relief from both these wrongs, the Socialists raised a howl of denunciation and abuse but never gave an utterance in support of the workers' campaign for relief. They denounced and antagonized that effort by every means at the party's command. When the Clayton Act became law, and since, there has not been one word uttered by a member of the Socialist political party or one utterance in its press upon the legislation but what belittled the protective labor features of the law.

The antagonism continues despite the fact that section 6 of the Clayton Act contains a legislative declaration of such far-reaching significance that it takes a place among the great declarations for human freedom. The declaration is **That the labor power of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce.**

In the reports which as President of the A. F. of L. I submitted to the International Secretariat containing the economic and legislative achievements in federal, state and municipal legislation in the interests of the workers and which were published by the Secretariat as well as in the columns of the *AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST*, not one single word of Labor's achievements in America has been recorded, much less commended, by the Socialist political party press. Whenever an injurious act has been committed against Labor, the Socialist party is not wanting in its howl of denunciation, not for remedy, but for votes.

Socialists Aiding A. F. of L. Opposition

The labor movement of America has had considerable internal strife, as seems inseparable from every great mass movement of human beings engaged in a struggle involving human interests, welfare and progress.

Was the Socialist political party in any one of these controversies and disputes on the side of the American trade union movement? When the International Association of Machinists became affiliated to the A. F. of L.

and another small organization of machinists was sought to be brought into the folds of the machinists, the Socialist political party was against the A. F. of L. and for the maintenance of the separate existence of the small group. When Mr. Debs organized his American Railway Union as against the Railroad Brotherhoods they were with the rival organization. The American Flint Glass Workers withdrew from the A. F. of L. and the politicians were against us; that we finally brought about the re-affiliation of the organization upon an honorable basis to the satisfaction and advantage of all, counted for nothing.

When the Reid faction of the electrical workers seceded from the bona fide International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the A. F. of L. recognized the bona fide affiliated organization of electrical workers, the Socialist political party was against the A. F. of L. and with the seceding faction, and maintained its support all through. The fact that the policy and activity of the A. F. of L. officers and rank and file brought about a reconciliation and that there is now one recognized bona fide organization of the electrical workers of America has counted for nothing with the Socialist politicians.

The secession movement in the garment workers and the perversion of the bona fide Journeymen Tailors' Union met with the heartiest support of the Socialist political party. That due to the efforts of the A. F. of L. a reconciliation is being brought about, and a movement establishing more harmonious relations among the tailors and garment workers of America is being worked out, is receiving not the slightest consideration or support from the Socialist politicians.

And be it understood that Mr. Victor L. Berger is one of the gentlemen forming the official group of Socialist political party men who have issued the pamphlet for the evident purpose of forcing the A. F. of L. to adopt declarations to abandon its economic effort to secure not only the eight-hour workday, but a constant reduction of the hours of labor by the exercise of the economic power of the organized labor movement of America.

The Socialist party recommends political action for securing the economic purposes as well as all purposes of the wage-earners, but it will countenance no activity that does not bear its own party symbol and which does not further exclusively Socialist dogmas, labeled as such.

Solicitude for A. F. of L.'s Welfare

In the foreword of the pamphlet the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party explain their reasons for its publication. They state that they wish to draw the serious attention of trade unionists to the action of the Philadelphia Convention upon the matter of securing the eight-hour day by law. A later statement in the official organ of the Socialist party contains what is probably a more accurate version of their reasons. In the official statement the party frankly avows that the pamphlet is for propaganda purposes. It is as follows:

The national Socialist party is anxious to get the names and addresses of Socialists who are members of labor unions.

It wants the help of the Socialists in the unions to get them. You have all heard of the great pamphlet, "Are the Workers of America Opposed to an Eight-Hour Law?" If you will send in a list of five or more Socialists or socialist sympathizers who are members of your union, giving the name of the union, and the full name and address of the members, we will send you free a copy of this great pamphlet. You can get the names from your union secretary.

This statement reveals that the Socialist political party is not solicitous lest the A. F. of L. be destroyed, but that the Socialist political party shall get control of the trade union organizations of the country.

In the second paragraph of the foreword is this statement—"The A. F. of L. has declared that it will hereafter oppose any proposition to establish by law an eight-hour day for male adult workers." This statement misrepresents the action of the Philadelphia Convention. Whether the misrepresentation occurs through accident, through ignorance, or deliberate purpose, it is nevertheless a misrepresentation and can not be excused in an official statement which is consciously dealing with a matter of so great importance. There is a vast difference between opposing any proposition to establish by law an eight-hour day for male adult workers and the surer method of securing a universal eight-hour day for all workers by the economic action of the workers themselves in private industries. The latter is the true position of the A. F. of L.

The third paragraph contains this statement: "This action of the A. F. of L. is bound to create an immense discussion in labor circles and it is important that every trade unionist should be familiar with the facts." If it is important that every trade unionist should be familiar with the facts, why does not the Socialist party publish in its entirety, the official report of the discussion upon the subject that took place in the convention of the A. F. of L., and then, if it desires, supplement that report with its own comment? If the Socialist political party desires to get before trade unionists the facts, why does it deliberately select only a few and the least important statements from a few of the addresses made during that discussion, and then comment upon these selections in such a manner as to create a false impression of the whole discussion? Why in this "accurate statement of facts" by the Socialist party, are extracts given from remarks of a selected few delegates and the remarks of the other delegates omitted entirely?

In the fourth paragraph of the foreword the Socialist party again makes plain the reason for its extreme solicitude and again proves that that solicitude is for votes for the Socialist political party and not for the welfare of the trade union movement. It enumerates the number of Socialist party representatives in the state legislature and in the national Congress, and states that these Socialist party representatives are pledged to support the principle of a law securing the eight-hour day for all workers whether in private or governmental employment. This is followed by a statement in the next paragraph that the action of the Philadelphia Convention of the A. F. of L. will detract from the importance and the influence of these representatives, by demonstrating the fact that the principle of regulating hours of work by law is not endorsed by the great mass of the wage-earners of the country who are represented by the action of the A. F. of L. The Socialist political party

fears that this action of the A. F. of L. will be an impediment to their representatives in their efforts to "secure the enactment" of Socialist legislation.

In the next paragraph is expressed the fear that the Socialists, fighting for an eight-hour law, will be denounced as an enemy of Labor. When did the Socialist political party ever appear in any other guise than as an enemy to the efforts of trade unionists to secure economic welfare and political and social rights? Does not the history that has just been related prove that the Socialist political party is the most dangerous enemy with which organized labor has had to contend? In this very statement the Socialist political party is guilty of the most insidious effort to discredit the trade union movement by making it appear that trade unionists are "lining up with manufacturers" to prevent the wage-earners from securing eight hours; when as a matter of fact, the trade union movement is doing more to secure an eight-hour workday than it could by any other policy. There is not and never was any agreement or united action of the manufacturers and the A. F. of L. on any subject. There has never been any such agreement and we defy the Socialist political party, or any other organization, to produce any proof to the contrary. On the other hand we challenge the Socialist political party to produce all of the facts of their opposition of Labor's political campaign in Maine in 1906, or the presidential campaign in 1908, and to show the source from which the money came to finance their campaigns in opposition to Labor.

The Socialist political party thinks that by attaching an epithet, it proves a fact. It declares that the policy of the A. F. of L. is a betrayal of Labor which brings down upon the head of the A. F. of L. a storm of indignation. As a matter of fact the only "indignation" that has been aroused has been that of the Socialist politicians and even that evinces disappointment because they were thwarted in their effort to capture and control the A. F. of L. The injustice of the epithet that the Socialist political party attach to the A. F. of L. policy is demonstrated by the many achievements and the many benefits that the American trade union movement has secured not only for the organized wage-earners but for the unorganized.

The A. F. of L. has been the only force that has been able to secure for the wage-earners of the United States the eight-hour day whether that prevails in private or governmental industry. There is no other organization potent enough to secure an eight-hour law for governmental employes or to secure from employers the eight-hour day for workers in private industries. No one denies that wherever the eight-hour day now prevails, it prevails as a result of the power of economic organization.

The Socialist party is the instigator back of propositions to secure the eight-hour workday in private industries by legislation. The eight-hour measures of California and Washington emanated from Socialist party sources. That party in its pamphlet usurps the right to speak for the wage-earners. This is the same Socialist party that has failed in its pretensions to establish international relations that would preclude war. It has failed to advance any constructive industrial plan or to accomplish any achievement. It has failed to secure any practical political results. It has failed to establish a new society.

For the last few years it has had a decline in total membership, losing members in the industrial centers. Does this fact warrant the Socialist party in speaking for all the workers?

The Socialist pamphlet furthermore states, "for now when the effort of the masses of working men to obtain an eight-hour law is growing everywhere, the A. F. of L. deserts them, it is safe to predict that the A. F. of L. will ultimately suffer the most." Wherever the proposition has been advanced to secure a general eight-hour law which shall apply to workers in both private and governmental industries, that proposition has emanated from the Socialist political party.

There is no general and no growing effort of the masses of working men to obtain an eight-hour law, which shall apply to all workers. The Socialist political party has here usurped the right to speak for all working men and it further abuses that usurpation by misrepresenting the desires of the working men. The A. F. of L. could not desert the working men for the A. F. of L. is the working men. The Socialist political party thinks that by loudly and persistently and unceasingly proclaiming Socialist political tenets, it can create the public impression that socialistic misstatements are really the desires of the "Masses of Labor." The Socialist political party is not and never was the masses of labor in the United States. It has sought to be, but has failed—that is the rub.

In the next paragraph of the foreword is: "It may be that certain officials of the A. F. of L. think that by opposing eight-hour laws they will injure Socialism."

The Socialist party exaggerates its own importance. As a matter of fact, the officials of the A. F. of L. are very little concerned as to Socialist politicians. There is too much necessary constructive work to be performed to be concerned about destroying the Socialist political party—it will destroy itself. The only concern that the officials of the A. F. of L. or the rank and file of the movement have is that the Socialist politicians shall not arrogate to themselves the right to dictate the policies and methods of the trade union movement or to undertake its domination.

The only reason why any attention is paid to this Socialist pamphlet is because it contains misrepresentations and deliberate perversions. We are concerned for the advancement of the toilers—of trade unionism.

In the last paragraph of the foreword the committee again discloses their real purpose: "The group in control of the A. F. of L. will only change its action when it is forced to do so by the rank and file. In order to awaken the trade unionists as to what is done in their name, we are now publishing the following statement of facts." As the pamphlet plainly shows, it is another attack upon the A. F. of L. and its elected officers. It is not an educational pamphlet, a pamphlet devoted to the propagation of truth, but it is a campaign document for the purpose of securing votes and for the purpose of putting the Socialist party politicians in offices and in places of authority in the trade union movement.

Securing the Eight-Hour Workday

The labor movement has not only advocated the shorter workday for all workers but it has been the only power that has been effective in securing that ideal. In the old days when the workers were slaves there was no limitation to the hours that they were required to work. The fundamental purpose of all organized effort of the workers has been to reduce the hours of work and they have been successful in their efforts. In very few places do the workers now toil from dawn until darkness. By raising the standard and then realizing each successive standard for the wage-earners, hours of labor not only for organized workers but for unorganized workers have been reduced. Eight hours has been the standard for men and women but not for children, as is declared in the pamphlet. The A. F. of L. has done more than any other organization to secure eight hours for America's workers, but it has always advocated the abolishment of all child labor.

Wherever the eight-hour workday now prevails it is the result of the power exercised by the economic organization of the workers. As a result of this power of the trade union movement the eight-hour workday now prevails generally for the workers in the following trades:

Carpenters and joiners; coal miners; typographical printers; cigarmakers; granite cutters; painters, decorators, and paperhangers; plasterers; plumbers and steamfitters; lathers; tilelayers; composition roofers; railroad telegraphers; stone cutters; marble workers; sheet metal workers; elevator constructors; bookbinders; hodcarriers and building laborers; brick, tile and terra cotta workers; cement workers; compressed air workers; steam engineers (in building construction); pavers, rammersmen, flagg layers, bridge and stone curb setters; paving cutters; plate printers; printing pressmen; stereotypers and electrotypers; tunnel and subway constructors; bridge and structural iron workers; asbestos workers; boilermakers and iron ship builders; quarry workers; metal miners; flint glass workers; slate and tile roofers; cutting die and cutter makers; stationary firemen; papermakers; photo-engravers; powder and high explosive workers; dock builders, and bricklayers.

As the result of the economic power of trade organization, legislation establishing the eight-hour workday in public work was enacted for the following states and territories:

Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Porto Rico, Texas, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

The federal eight-hour law was secured through the efforts of the trade unions. Even after that law was enacted the governmental authorities refused to enforce the law and its provisions were nullified by administrative and judicial interpretation. Only through the efforts of the economic organizations has that law been amended so as now to be effective and its enforcement secured.

Wherever eight hours has been secured and enforced in any country, it

has been through the power of the economic organizations. Even in Australia where the workers rely most upon political methods the eight-hour workday was secured by economic organization before the workers adopted their political policy.

How the Miners Secured Eight Hours

The Socialist pamphlet falsely states that the United Mine Workers of America have built up one of the strongest unions in the world by urging men to struggle for an eight-hour workday both through agreements with their employers and *through legislation*. The facts contradict this statement. When the miners began their efforts to organize, the A. F. of L. put itself back of that movement. Where the miners have built up strong economic organizations they have the eight-hour day which was secured and is enforced by the economic organization. For years the miners were unorganized and suffered reduction after reduction in wages, alternating the work in a week of days of long hours with others of no work at all. Miserable, impoverished, and serf-like! It was a tremendous task to make the miners conscious of their own miserable condition, but it was done, and when the 1897 strike was inaugurated, the spark of renewed life of regenerated people was manifest among the miners, and as a result of that great victorious strike, the eight-hour day was achieved, established and maintained by the coal miners in the bituminous regions. The spirit of the men and the movement found its counterpart among the coal miners of the anthracite regions, and after the great strikes the nine-hour day among other achievements was established. At this moment a great campaign is being conducted for the thorough organization of the anthracite miners to secure the eight-hour day. The eight-hour day for the miners was, therefore, not secured through legislation, but by the misunderstood and misrepresented trade union movement. The miners of Colorado attempted to secure the eight-hour workday by law but the eight-hour day was one of the *demands* of the Colorado miners in their recent strike. The official journal of the mine workers plainly states in its editorial columns that the United Mine Workers of America owe their successes to economic organization.

Where the miners have built up strong organizations and have depended upon those organizations for securing industrial betterment they have made progress and have secured greatly improved conditions. A most significant incident is connected with the recent strike of the miners in eastern Ohio. They have recently secured through their trade union, an agreement for the "mine-run" basis of payment, a condition which they had vainly endeavored to secure through legislation. After many years, they had secured the enactment of a law providing for the run-of-mine payment. It was opposition to this law that caused the mine operators to close down their mines before the law went into effect, and to use every influence to secure the repeal of the law by the state legislature. Through their economic power the miners persisted in their demands and secured recognition of this claim even while the state legislature was repealing the law that made the provision.

So far as statutory enactment is concerned, the miners of Illinois have no better conditions of work than the miners of Colorado, but any one who has

any knowledge at all of the mining conditions in Illinois and mining conditions in Colorado knows that the conditions under which the miners of Colorado are forced to work are incomparably worse than the conditions under which the miners of Illinois work. The miners of Illinois are solidly organized. The miners of Colorado are struggling to organize.

Not as the Socialist politicians have declared in their pamphlet that the trade unionists are concerned more with dues paying members than with a constant aim for improvement in the condition of the workers, but the fact is patent to every observer, except perhaps these overzealous friends (?) that nothing is very highly appreciated or valued by man which is given to him without effort and sacrifice on his own part. Rights, benefits, liberty are all of them meaningless and worthless to the masses of men unless they have struggled hard to achieve them, and the harder the struggle the deeper do they find their lodgment in the brain and the makeup of those who have participated in their accomplishment. And how strikingly similar is this charge of these Socialist labor friends (?) to the language and the charge of the National Association of Manufacturers.

A. F. of L. Work for Eight Hours

The pamphlet issued by the Socialist party tries to confuse the issues so as to make it appear that the A. F. of L. has wavered in its stand upon the eight-hour day. This is done by attempting to confuse the advocacy of the eight-hour day with methods for attaining that end. There is no organization in America that has done so much to reduce the hours of labor and to secure the eight-hour day for the wage-earners as the A. F. of L. As the pamphlet states, in that particular correctly, the A. F. of L. in its early days inaugurated an eight-hour campaign. This campaign was an economic movement. At its 1884 convention the A. F. of L. determined that it would advise all of its affiliated organizations to begin agitation for an eight-hour day so that all labor might establish that day on May 1, 1886. Every trade or industry that secures the eight-hour day, makes the principle more general and makes the victory for the other workers easier. Every gain secured by union workers is shared more or less directly by workers yet unorganized, but for whom organization is made easier by every industrial gain.

The eight-hour movement was begun by unions that in 1886 were no better able to cope with industrial opposition than are many of the weak unions or unorganized workers of today. But what those workers have done through persistence and skill in organizations, all other workers can do and will do. That success in achieving the eight-hour day is not confined to the skilled trades, is proven by common laborers, hodcarriers and others.

The A. F. of L. has not only declared for, but has been the vanguard in the struggle for the eight-hour day, and has done more than all other agencies combined to secure the eight-hour day for the wage-earners, but it has never advocated that the workers should shift their safe and sure position to the illusory and dangerous field in the fruitless quest to obtain an eight-

hour day by law in private industry. Its position upon that policy and its success can not be disputed.

The A. F. of L. has always advocated a high wage, but it has never advocated that wages in private industries shall be stipulated by law. There is no reason that even Socialists should be astounded that the A. F. of L. does not advocate the stipulation of hours of work in private industry by law.

The excuse which the Socialist party politicians present for publishing this pamphlet on eight hours by law is that only summaries of the debate at the Philadelphia Convention has been published, and then the Socialist party proceeds to publish extracts and summaries of the debate in the Philadelphia Convention interspersed with comments and other extraneous matter. The pamphlet is intended to have the appearance of being a complete and authoritative report of the discussions that took place. Nothing could be further from the truth. The testimony of Morris Hillquit at the New York hearings of the Commission on Industrial Relations is introduced in this "only" reliable report as though it were concerned in the Philadelphia debate.

The pamphlet begins its record of the debate in the Philadelphia Convention of the A. F. of L. by quoting the resolution introduced by Paul Scharrenberg of the California State Federation of Labor, but it avoids at that point to state that the California measure for the enactment of an eight-hour law which should apply to all workers emanated from the Socialist political party. This fact which is common information in California is stated later and is necessary in order to understand the extreme solicitude of the Socialist political party. However, for its own political advantage the party endeavors to identify the interests of socialism with the welfare of the trade unionists.

As I have shown the A. F. of L. has steadfastly rejected all efforts to engraft a political party upon the trade union movement and to be led astray in the vain delusion that legislation is an easy way to secure economic welfare. It has always maintained that there is nothing to gain by trying to deceive the workers by high-sounding phrases, pretentious but impossible ends and by a method that would give them the appearance but not the substance of power.

The Socialist political party seeks to create the impression that the officers of the A. F. of L. were false to their trust when they pointed out the dangers and the sure defeat of a policy that could not secure them what they desired. This truth has been recognized by many of those who for a while were dazzled by the elusive "cooperative commonwealth," which the Socialists declared lay at the end of control by laws like the mirage that leads the traveler astray on the desert.

Positions Changed by Experience

"Mr. Charles E. Mahoney of the Western Federation of Miners, about an hour after the A. F. of L. convention voted on the eight-hour measure, made the following statement to me in speaking of the eight hours by law provisions that had been discussed at the Philadelphia Convention: "I greatly regretted the position in which I was placed during the discussion and that I could not express and vote my real convictions upon the matter.

"We spent more than \$40,000 to secure an eight-hour law for the miners of Missouri. We secured an eight-hour law for them and because they trusted in the eight-hour law they did not maintain their organization. Many thought that because they had secured eight hours the organization could do little more for them. But when the miners of Missouri permitted their organization to dwindle, the eight-hour law was no longer enforced and the miners were left powerless to protect themselves. Not only the organization, but the spirit of organization had died."

But confidence in the "law method" has been considerably abated in the three western states by the experiences of even the past year. The workers of Washington, Oregon, and California have every reason to mistrust the policy of placing control over their welfare in the hands of political representatives who constitute the law-making bodies. They now see the dangers of that course and they see how control by law can be manipulated to their disadvantage and detriment even more readily than it can be used for their advantage.

California realizes the menace through the proposed apprentice bill which sought to make unlawful any trade union apprenticeship regulation; Washington through the amendments recently made to the initiative and referendum which pervert the purposes of that democratic system of government. Furthermore the state legislation shackled the workers by the anti-picketing law which defines, prohibits, and provides punishment for picketing. The recent sessions of the legislature of Washington destroyed humanitarian legislation that was the result of years of struggle. It was the result of wild goose chasing which concentrated thought and action upon the chimerical and lost the reality.

Oregon was a fellow-sufferer. Many other states have lost protection that depended upon legislation. Where the workers are strong enough to protect themselves through their organized power, they are not left helpless before the forces of greed, but absolute faith in the legislative method has been shattered by the demonstration of its danger and of its failure.

The Socialist party politicians in their pamphlet quote Mr. J. G. Brown, President of the International Union of Timber Workers as having forcibly expressed his opinion upon and voted for the proposition at the Philadelphia Convention to establish the eight-hour workday by law; and there is no question in my mind that by reason of Mr. Brown's intelligence and eloquence, he made as deep an impression upon the delegates to the convention as any other man who spoke upon that side of the subject. It may, therefore, be all the more interesting to quote the following letter, which I received from Mr. Brown:

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, *March 26, 1915.*

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President,*
A. F. of L., *Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: I have been going to write you for sometime and express my appreciation of the manner in which you opened my eyes to the superiority of economic over political action.

The session of the state legislature which has just adjourned was so quick and complete a proof of the argument you advanced at the Philadelphia Convention that it amounted almost to a prophecy.

Not only were most of the labor laws attacked but our most advanced legislative victories of the past such as the initiative, referendum and recall are in a fair way to be entirely ineffective for future use.

Then in addition to the dehorning of all this legislation, we now have an anti-picketing law passed and will become operative in sixty days unless it can be held up by the referendum. To do this will require the gathering of 20,000 signatures. I believe we will be able to get this number of names. In which event the law's operation will be suspended till it can be voted upon next year at the general election.

In this case we can use the referendum, but we came near being deprived of that opportunity. It is this way: The initiative and referendum law provides that measures passing the legislature carrying the emergency clause can not be submitted to the referendum. The reactionary lawmakers of the last session passed a measure so amending this law that it would be utterly worthless and attached **the emergency clause**.

The emergency clause being attached to all measures that were likely to meet popular opposition things looked very grave. The Governor vetoed some of the bills but they were promptly passed over his veto. Then the matter was finally carried to the Supreme Court, and that body by a very close vote decided the emergency clause did not apply. We were saved for the moment. Had it not been for this court decision we would have been set back in this state, politically, more than we have advanced in the past ten years.

Also, I am becoming convinced that those who ought to be saved must take a little part in the saving themselves if it is to be of value. Benefits easily gained are lightly regarded.

I am not sure that I have reached the point where I can see no good in political action, but have now a settled conviction that economic action should receive our first consideration.

Moreover, I feel such political improvements as come to the workers will be the mere reflection of their increasing economic strength regardless of what party may be in power.

Trusting I shall give more weight to your opinions founded on so many years' active experience in the future than I have in the past, and with best wishes, I am,

Fraternally yours,

J. G. BROWN,

President, International Union of Timber Workers

Mr. E. P. Marsh is president of the Washington State Federation of Labor. He is regarded as one of the most observant, intelligent men in the labor and reform movement of the state. Under date of March 27, he sent me a duplicate copy of a letter which he wrote to Mr. C. O. Young, of Portland, Oregon, and asked me in all its essential points to regard the letter as equally addressed to me.

The letter is full of valuable information describing the 1913 session of the Washington state legislature, in which the interests opposed to the welfare of the workers made a terrific fight upon humanitarian legislation for the purpose of repealing or emasculating this legislation and for the enactment of legislation to hamper and obstruct the activities of the workers in their own behalf.

The last paragraph of his letter is of particular significance here. It is as follows:

"After spending a long sixty days at Olympia, I am inclined to say a hearty amen to Brother Gompers' criticism contained in the *FEDERATIONIST* some time ago. But with a keen realization of the precariousness of depending wholly on legislation, there is the consciousness that having put our hand to the plow we must not look back but must fight as hard as we are able to preserve to the people the right of petition and the right of free assemblage and free speech upon **whichever battle ground our opponents choose.**"

Socialist Garbling and Misrepresentation

In order to prove the charge of "craft selfishness" against Vice-President Duncan, the Socialist pamphlet quotes the following: "'We hope,' he says, 'through our trade union activities to get down to the six-hour day by and by. If you have an eight-hour law you will see the handicap we will have in arguing with our employers for seven and seven and one-half hours a day.'"

This statement is taken away from its context in order to pervert the meaning and the antecedent of the word "we," and to place Mr. Duncan in a false position as if speaking for the granite cutters alone. In the complete report of Vice-President Duncan's remarks published in the proceedings of the Philadelphia Convention, Mr. Duncan's meaning is unmistakable. Mr. Duncan had been speaking for some time about Labor in general. In this statement "we" stands for the workers generally. In connection with the statement which the Socialists quote, Mr. Duncan had just stated that there were trades represented in the A. F. of L. whose members were working less than eight hours at the present time. He went on to give a particular illustration and designated his own trade in order that he might illustrate a general principle. The purpose which Mr. Duncan had in mind was no more narrow and selfish than the welfare of the whole labor movement for all the workers.

The writers of the pamphlet selected only such remarks of vice-president Duncan as they wanted the workers to read and interpret these remarks in a manner reflecting upon him. They state that Mr. Duncan opposed the eight-hour law for millions because it interfered with his "petty little craft" obtaining less than an eight-hour day. The official report published by the A. F. of L. shows that Mr. Duncan discussed in great detail fallacies underlying the principle of establishing the eight-hour day by law. He showed that regulation of hours of work by law ultimately makes the judiciary the final source to which the workers must appeal for protection and then he gave illustration after illustration showing the hostile spirit of many members of the judiciary toward organized labor and its purposes and showing how members of the judiciary are unable to understand the conditions of modern industry. He reviewed the efforts to secure a federal eight-hour law for government employes. As a further illustration of the disadvantages of regulating hours of work in private industry by legislation, Mr. Duncan referred to an experience which his organization had in Baltimore, Maryland, where a nine-hour day had been passed by the legislature of the state for state and municipal work. He told how his standard fixed by statutory enactment was used as a regulation against reducing the hours of work by economic agreement. There was nothing petty or selfish in the arguments which Mr. Duncan presented. He related his experiences which illustrated a principle of vital importance for the real welfare of millions of workers.

A. F. of L. Officials Responsible to Labor Only

The Executive Committee of the Socialist political party states moreover that "any Socialist or trade union official who misrepresents Labor should be retired by the organized forces of Socialism and Labor." Un-

doubtedly officials should be responsible to those whom they represent, but the curious twist which the Socialist pamphlet makes in this sentence is characteristic of the whole argument presented. At first glance it would appear that the "and" between "socialism and labor" was perhaps merely an error in diction. The thought so evidently calls for the other conjunction "or." It may be perhaps it is simply an illustration of socialistic thought generally—incapacity of logical reasoning or presentation of a logical thought—or it may be that the "and" is the result of a subtle deliberate purpose which is part of the socialistic propaganda to dominate the interests, purposes and even the officials of the trade union movement.

Where, pray, comes the authority of holding the officials of the trade union movement responsible to the organized efforts of socialism in addition to the organized efforts of labor?

Upon the day following the discussion and vote upon the subject under discussion, that is the trade union activity to secure the eight-hour workday, the election of officers occurred and every officer of the A. F. of L. was re-elected with scarcely a dissenting vote. Is it, therefore, not a fair inference that the convention answered for Labor in anticipation of the statement of the Socialist politicians that the officials of the trade union movement fully represented the organized forces of Labor?

The Socialist pamphlet again calls attention to the fact that the Socialist political party has the referendum and recall but that the A. F. of L. has never established that system of expression for its affiliated members. Here again the Socialist political party absolutely ignores the fundamental difference in organization between the Socialist party and the A. F. of L. The Socialist political party is a simple unitary organization and the A. F. of L. is a federated body. There is no national federated organization under the sun, whether political or economic, that has established the initiative and referendum. It has by common opinion and common judgment been held impracticable for a federated body.

Are Trade Unionists "Ignorant Masses"?

This Socialist pamphlet makes the following statement:

"To a great degree the mass of union men do not understand that, unfortunately, only a few thousand ever read the proceedings of the conventions and only a mere handful know what happens at the conventions. The capitalist press gives only the most meager reports of the proceedings of the convention, and in the official papers of the A. F. of L., there is printed only the general summaries of what has happened. In this manner the masses are kept in far more complete ignorance of what happens at the A. F. of L. conventions than they are of what happens in the Congress of the United States."

Then the Socialist political party proceeds to take advantage of what they call "the ignorance of the masses." They criticize the capitalist press for publishing only garbled accounts of the proceedings of the A. F. of L. conventions and then proceed to practice the methods of the capitalist press in even a more artful manner than the capitalist press has yet attained, with this difference, that the capitalist press makes no pretension of being friendly to Labor and the Socialist political party pretends that it is publishing the "only true and correct" account of the Philadelphia discussion in current

circulation. The Socialist party as announced through their official press, is now seeking to swamp the country with copies of their official document, intending thereby to misrepresent the trade union movement and its officials in order to discredit them. This is done in the hope that the results may be utilized to the political advantage of the Socialist party.

The only full and complete account pro and con of the entire debate of the Philadelphia Convention upon the matter of establishing the eight-hour work-day by economic action is contained in the official proceedings published by the A. F. of L., and copies of these proceedings are available for the information of all wage-earners who wish to know the truth about that debate and the real position of the A. F. of L. The pamphlet published by the Socialist party claiming to give the real truth contains no more accurate information than could be found in the most hostile employers' journal. The pamphlet is a deliberate misrepresentation and for a purpose.

More Misrepresentation

Another illustration of this misrepresentation occurs in the account of the remarks of Delegate Frey of the molders. The pamphlet states that Mr. Frey went back to the Middle Ages to prove that the English courts were tyrannical when they exercised power over workmen's wages and their hours of work. The official report of the proceedings shows that in a speech of about fifteen minutes there is one sentence referring to the old English courts of quarter sessions. All the rest refers to present legislative regulation of wages and hours of work. The Socialist pamphlet says: "He also neglected to mention that they have an initiative, referendum and recall in many states which they did not have in the Middle Ages." The Socialist pamphlet does not say that Colorado had a statutory eight-hour law and the initiative, referendum and recall, and yet the miners did not have an eight-hour day in the mines.

If They Desired to Know

If the Socialist politicians really desired to inform themselves as to the policy of the work of the A. F. of L. since 1881 they would have known that from the beginning the A. F. of L. has consistently, uniformly and emphatically demanded legislation to secure the eight-hour workday for workers in governmental employment. To the thoughtless it may appear that there is no difference between an eight-hour day by law for workers in private industry and for those in governmental employment. But in the latter case the government is the employer and the government has no power to regulate the hours of labor except by law. If they have even read sections of the Executive Council's report to the Philadelphia Convention upon the eight-hour legislation they would have known something of what the trade union movement has done to protect the workers in governmental employment and the great success that has crowned its efforts.

There Is No Short Cut

The Socialists and other advocates of securing the eight-hour day by law declare it the "short cut." But is that term accurate? Securement of legislation is a practical problem, not a theoretical one. Lawmakers have regard

for those who have power—economic power is what gives John D. Rockefeller political power—organization secures for wage-earners economic power that makes them a political force. For placing labor laws on the statute books and for their enforcement economic organization is necessary.

But the mere passage of a law secures no benefits or protection to wage-earners or any other group of citizens. Laws are enforced by administrative agents and then policies and interpretations determine whether laws afford the desired protection or relief. All interested parties bring their power to bear upon these administrative agents to secure enforcement or non-enforcement of laws. Only through their economic organization can wage-earners obtain power and wield that influence for the appointment of desirable administrative officials or the fulfillment of the duties of these agents.

Redress for the violation of an eight-hour law lies in the courts. The wage-earners in their organized capacity would have to protect their interests and rights in the courts and would have to get the judiciary to understand the labor side of the cases.

To secure the eight-hour day by such a "short cut" it would be necessary for the wage-earners to control the legislators, the administrative agents and the judiciary. At no time would they retain in their own hands control over conditions under which they spend the best hours of their lives.

The stipulation of industrial relations by law does not result in industrial freedom—it only restates all industrial problems in terms of political issues. It substitutes a political boss for an industrial employer. What would it profit the wage-earners working for the Rockefeller interests to exchange Rockefeller for a Root or a Taft?

Industrial freedom can be achieved only when workers participate in determining their own hours, wages and conditions of work. This is an industrial problem that must be worked out in the industrial field. It becomes a political problem only when the government is connected with the industry or where the industry is especially hazardous.

There is no "short cut" to industrial freedom. Industrial freedom can not be bestowed on workers. They must achieve their own freedom and enjoy it as the reward of a good fight to establish their rights.

It has been affirmed that the initiative, referendum and recall put the people in control of the government. Verily did not all these exist in Colorado, together with an eight-hour law for the miners, and yet is not the memory and the present consequences of the Colorado miners' strike a disgrace to our American nation? Until the miners of Colorado are organized in their trade union they can not maintain their rights! That they will so organize through trade union effort is as sure as the rising and setting of the sun.

Socialist Opinions of Socialist Hostility

Just a few days ago the editor of the Socialist paper, the *New York Call*, in an apparently well intentioned editorial repeats an oft-repeated untruth that "Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, was himself a one-time member of the Socialist labor party." I have never been a member of that party or any other political party, am not now a member and

expect never to be one. It has been the custom of the Socialist politicians to charge that I have gone out of my way to attack socialism or the Socialist political party. I have no excuses to offer for my course. The only explanations I have to make are to the great masses of the trade unionists of America, but I challenge any Socialist partisan to prove that I have ever uttered one word of criticism or attack that was not provoked by an attack upon or misrepresentation of the trade union movement, the A. F. of L., its officers and its men. But as to the hostility of the Socialist political party toward the American trade union movement, I can do no better than to quote statements from some of the most authoritative spokesmen of that party.

In the New York *Call* (Socialist paper), April 8, 1910, Robert Hunter said:

"We ought never to have derided the unions, jeered at their very weakness or chuckled over their every mistake. That was the first error, and a terrible one. It was the error the Germans made at first, although they soon squared themselves. And it is a fact that in no other country has this error persisted as it has in America, and it is also a fact that if we continue to persist in this error we shall create a situation which will put socialism back many years."

Morris Hillquit, hailed by all Socialists as the most brilliant Socialist of today, in the New York *Call* of December 12, 1909, said:

"Socialism in the United States today is in the anomalous position of being a working class movement, minus the working class, and our main efforts must be to remove that anomaly. Our efforts to enlist the support of the working class must necessarily be directed in the first place to the organized portion of it. And whatever may be said to the contrary, our party has never made sustained and rational efforts to win the friendship of these organized workmen. Much of our time and energies in the past have been wasted in the effort to capture the trade union movement bodily; in a few instances we have been led to the folly of attempting to reorganize it, going to the extent of creating rival organizations and at times have meddled and interfered with their internal affairs. We have often tried to coax, cajole, and browbeat the trade unions into socialism."

In the *Call* of December 11, 1909, William English Walling, declared that:

"The Socialist party has become a hissing and a by-word with the actual wage-workers of America. It has become a party of two extremes. On the one side are a bunch of intellectuals like myself and Spargo and Hunter and Hillquit; on the other is a bunch of 'never-works,' demagogues and would-be intellectuals, a veritable *lumpen proletariat*. The actual wage-workers, the men who are really fighting the class struggle, are outside. Above all else we must have the union men. No one has denounced the defects of the A. F. of L. more than I, but I am forced to recognize that it comes much nearer representing the working class than the Socialist party and unless we are able to so shape our policies and our organization as to meet the demands and incarnate the position of the workers we will have failed of our mission."

In a letter from the editor of the official Socialist political party organ to Mr. John H. Walker, the well-known coal miners' official and president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and who by the way is a Socialist, Mr. Walker was asked a number of questions, to express his opinion upon the "unprecedented crisis now confronting" America's workers. Mr. Walker answered fully but the Socialist party organ published two paragraphs of a long letter and these two the least important.

I shall take pleasure some time in publishing the correspondence in full. In the meantime the Illinois State Federation of Labor *Weekly News Letter*

published it and I quote from the letter the following appropriate to the subject with which this article deals:

"They (the Socialists, the theorists, professional charity mongers and sentimental altruists, and those who are in the working class movement out of pity for the workers) have been doing this and fighting every particle of work that has been done by the regular bona fide labor movement all that time. They have made it impossible for a self-respecting man, who was not a Socialist, to favor the Socialist movement, or have anything but hatred and contempt for it, or, where they were really big men, pity for the ignorance of those who represented it, and made it difficult for even they that were Socialists not to have to fight the Socialist movement during that time; and, of course, it influenced the workers who were Socialists and trade unionists, who did not understand the situation thoroughly, to line up with the Socialist party and fight ostensibly, the officers of, but in reality, their own movement, the trade union movement; and it has made a good many men who are giving and will continue to give their entire lives to this movement, who are in the ranks of organized labor movement fighting in the trenches all the time, sick and disgusted with all that sort of rot."

When the above quoted declarations are publicly made and knowing that they are shared by many of their intelligent associates what shall be thought of the issuance of a pamphlet by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist political party? The first signatory is that supporter of presidential vetoes of labor measures, Victor L. Berger. The pamphlet is conceived, designed and prepared with no other purpose than to dominate, divide, disrupt or destroy the American trade union movement.

A. F. of L. Declarations on Eight Hours

On the other hand, the position and the policy of the A. F. of L. has been repeatedly made public and reaffirmed by the actions of the various conventions. From its first formation the A. F. of L. has proclaimed and steadfastly stood for the principle of the shorter workday. Various official actions show the policies it has adopted for the purpose of securing this shorter workday. I can only quote here a few of those extracts from declarations which are most definite and most forceful.

In 1884 the report of the officials of our Federation contained the following:

This subject is one deserving the full and careful attention of the Congress. No more important remedial measure is contained in the demands of the labor-reform movement, important not only because of the direct benefit it would give to the working class through relieving the labor market, affording the individual time for rest, recreation and study, but also from the great indirect good sure to accompany the material, mental and moral opportunities resulting from the lessening of the hours of toil.

It appears to be the generally expressed desire of the societies represented in this Federation that it assume the initiative in a national movement for the reduction of the hours of labor. Sporadic attempts of individual trades in certain localities have met with varying degrees of success, but there is little doubt that a universal centrally directed advance would prove both practical and triumphant. To formulate the machinery for this attempt requires your deepest thought. This much has been determined by the history of the national eight-hour law—it is useless to wait for legislation in this matter. In the world of economic reform the working classes must depend upon themselves for the enforcement of measures as well as for their conception. A united demand for a shorter working day, backed by thorough organization, will prove vastly more effective than the enactment of a thousand laws depending for enforcement upon the pleasure of aspiring politicians or sycophantic department officials.

In 1885 the convention adopted the resolution on the eight-hour day which enunciated the principles of the eight-hour movement and set forth a plan for the following year. It contained the following paragraph:

WHEREAS, this resolution, and the views upon which it is based—namely, that the workmen in their endeavor to reform the prevailing economic conditions must rely upon themselves, and their own power exclusively—have found an echo in the hearts of all those organized workmen of this country who are fighting for a principle and are willing to make sacrifices in order to secure an improvement of the condition of themselves and their fellow-workers, and as there is in many parts of this country, a strong movement going on for the purpose of carrying out this resolution. . . .

In nearly every convention of the A. F. of L., these declarations on the eight-hour or shorter workday have been emphasized and extended into concrete movements for its achievement.

Other Experiences

Now and then an organization has been led astray to try the "short cut" and has endeavored to secure the shorter workday by law. The organizations of the Journeymen Bakers' International Union of the state of New York secured a law fixing a workday at ten hours. The statement of Secretary Charles Iffland of that organization as to the result of that experiment is given on page 32 of this pamphlet.

In the March, 1905, *AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST*, was published an article dealing with Socialist tactics in the labor organizations of Montana. The article was written by Grant Hamilton, an organizer for the American Federation of Labor, and although the Socialists attempted to make reply in part, they never even denied the statement quoted below, which is of particular interest in connection with the claims and charges made in the Socialist party eight-hour pamphlet. The statement is:

"In the last election in the city of Butte a strange state of affairs developed. The socialists, the 'only true emancipators of the laboring man,' according to themselves, demonstrated what peculiar creatures they were. In a large number of wards in the city it was found that the socialist ticket had been voted straight, but that the vote on the amendments to the constitution submitted to the voters had been '*voted against.*' These amendments were for the 'constitutional amendment for the eight-hour day,' the statutory act being already upon the statutes; and an amendment to the constitution prohibiting the employment of children under a certain age. A large per cent of the socialist vote was recorded against these amendments. Think of it! **These simon-pure socialists, these crusaders for a new civilization, voting:**

"Against the eight-hour day and against the prohibition of employment of children of tender age."

Other countries that have tried the policy of fixing hours of work and industrial relations by law, have found that under these conditions the courts have held that strikes are illegal. Does it seem at all improbable that the courts of our country would fail to avail themselves of an opportunity thus presented to declare strikes illegal and to use this judicial method for prohibiting the necessary activities of organizations of workers? Do not the experiences the organizations of laborers have had with judicial usurpation and perversion of the writ of injunction constitute a very grave warning against entrusting industrial welfare to judicial interpretation and judicial authority?

And Suppose

And now another phase of this entire question is worthy of consideration. Suppose the Philadelphia Convention of the A. F. of L. had adopted the

declaration to endeavor to secure the eight-hour workday for all workers, whether in private or public employment, by law? Would the Socialist political party have stood behind the A. F. of L. in its political activity to secure the enactment of such a law? Would they not have denounced, as they have invariably denounced the A. F. of L., the trade union movement, in every political activity, to secure relief from onerous laws or any constructive reformatory laws? Or there is another hypothesis for the Socialist politicians' attack and issuance of their pamphlet—and it is unquestionably the true reason—that the workers shall wait until the Socialist politicians have inaugurated the millenium by the advent of that "purest" party into power, and in the meantime the trade union movement, the A. F. of L., must follow the stellar course of these "would-be" political leaders and world regenerators. From that the intelligence, experience and sincerity of the workers in the trade union movement will save themselves.

In reaffirming its policy to regulate the hours of labor in private industry through the voluntary organization of the workers, the Philadelphia A. F. of L. convention determined to continue its consistent effective plans.

"Materialistic" Concept of Trade Unions

Trade unions have been derided as materialistic and lacking in idealism because they concentrate their forces upon securing higher wages, a shorter workday and better conditions of work. Very recently their position has been justified and endorsed by a man recognized as a world authority on human health—Major-General William C. Gorgas. General Gorgas has demonstrated his ability as a practical scientist by transforming the deadly Panama Canal Zone into a healthful community.

General Gorgas recognizes that community healthfulness must be accompanied by individual healthfulness. A condition necessary to health of mind and body is wages adequate to buy sufficient nourishing food, adequate clothing and to provide proper surroundings. In a recent interview this practical scientist said:

"Add to the laboring man's wage from \$1.25 to \$2.50 a day, and you will lengthen the average American's thread of life by thirteen years at least."

It is a matter of common information that wages vary inversely with daily hours of work—decreasing the length of the workday is invariably accompanied by wage increases and increased productive ability.

Low wages have vicious effects upon national vigor and power—poorly paid workers usually deteriorate in physical and mental ability and in power to produce. Low wages increase the numbers of the unemployable. No nation can retain its power when the masses of its citizenship are existing upon inadequate wages.

The importance of the rank and file of the nation General Gorgas recognizes:

"The rich are overeating. The poor are undereating. Both are contributing to short lives.

But where overeating shortens the life of one person in one hundred, undereating shortens that of ninety-nine. If we are to lengthen the average life, we must pay attention to the poor man."

This splendid enunciation of the fundamental principles of true statesmanship, confirms the justice and the value of the purposes which trade unions attain. Whether or not high wages is a materialistic ideal depends upon the uses to which the wages are put, but they are the necessary means for attaining even the most exalted purposes. It is necessary to sustain life in order to do things in this world—the better the life the greater energy there is to do things.

The report which Geo. W. Perkins, President of the Cigarmakers' International Union, made to the Baltimore convention of the cigarmakers in 1912, contains illustrations of the principles General Gorgas has declared. In 1886 the cigarmakers secured the eight-hour day. Since then they increased wages more than 50 per cent.

In 1888 the average length of life of members of the Cigarmakers' International Union was thirty-one years; in 1890 the average had been increased to thirty-seven years; in 1900 to forty-three years; in 1910 to forty-nine years and in 1911 to fifty years. The organization which decreased daily hours of work and increased wages had thus increased the average lives of cigarmakers by eighteen years in a period of twenty-three years.

These principles are further confirmed by the life statistics of the wives of cigarmakers. In 1890 the average life of the wives of union members was thirty-eight years; in 1900, forty-six years; in 1910, fifty years; in 1911, forty-eight years. The average increase during this period of twenty-one years is ten years.

What the cigarmakers' union has accomplished has been duplicated by nearly all other trade unions; the latter have not taken advantage of so accurately setting forth their achievements.

As the policies and purposes of the trade union movement are more clearly understood they are found to be based upon fundamental principles, scientifically and humanely correct, economically and socially sound.

The fundamental principles upon which that policy is based are the fundamental principles that underly human freedom whether political or industrial. To be free, the workers must have choice. To have choice they must retain in their own hands the right to determine under what conditions they will work. Responsibility for the best use of opportunity devolves upon each individual, for each must achieve his own freedom. Freedom means opportunity. Opportunity must be offered to all through collective effort. Success depends upon personal character. To reflect and crystallize that personal character into the characteristics of all the workers in the trade union movement is the goal for Labor's complete disenthralment from every vestige of wrong and injustice.

Freedom is the goal—the greatest heritage of mankind.

"Freedom we call it, for holier
 Name of the soul's there is none;
 Surlier it labors, if slower,
 Than the metres of star or of sun;
 Slower than life into breath,
 Surlier than time into death,
 It moves till its labor be done."

The Shorter Workday—Its Philosophy

By SAMUEL GOMPERS

DECREASING the hours of labor is a revolutionary force. Contrast the life of the toiler who works twelve hours with that of one who works eight hours. The difference in the workday affects personal habits, standards of living and social relations.

The man who works twelve hours spends perhaps one hour going to and from work, and surely sometime for meals—the rest of the day is for sleep and—shall we say—opportunity for self-improvement. Twelve long hours of work exhaust physical strength and fill the whole body with the poison of fatigue. The time for rest is sufficient only partially to counteract the fatigue and so the deadening effect of the poison is cumulative. There is neither energy, inclination, nor opportunity for the man or the woman who works twelve hours—the worker becomes only a work machine. The darkness under which he creeps to and from work hides his misery and his poverty from the world and often from himself. Daylight and a chance to see, stir up discontent necessary to arouse action.

The individual who works eight hours or less does not each day exhaust his energy. He has time for recuperation and something more. His mind is more alert and active. He is capable of more vigorous and more effective work. He goes to and from work at a time when well-dressed people are on the streets. He really has time and opportunity for making comparisons and forming desires. He has longer time to stay at home, sees other homes better furnished, and consequently wants a better home for himself. He wants books, pictures, friends, entertainment. In short, he becomes a human being with intellectual desires and cravings. This change makes him a more valuable worker. Because his standard of living has changed he demands higher wages. Men and women will not continue indefinitely to work for wages that force them to live below their concepts of what constitutes standards of living.

This is why the shorter workday is one of the primary, fundamental demands of organized labor. The labor movement represents organized discontent with poorer conditions and definite purposeful effort to secure better. It represents ambition and ideals.

Before the labor movement of the United States was organized upon a permanent, national basis, the working day was from sun-up to sun-set. During the thirties there were numerous efforts by trades to establish ten hours. By proclamation, in 1840, the ten-hour workday was established in the Navy Yard at Washington, D. C. During the latter sixties came a revival of the trade union movement, and the eight-hour day became the slogan.² Eight Hour Leagues were formed. Local labor organizations and economic associa-

tions educated public opinion in the philosophy of eight hours and the benefits of the shorter workday. In 1868 a federal eight-hour law was enacted. The National Labor Union, organized in 1869, endorsed the eight-hour day. The Knights of Labor was formed the same year and added impetus to the eight-hour movement. During the seventies there were numerous trade strikes for the eight-hour day. There was conviction and desire, but the movement to obtain the results lacked direction and unity.

Three years after the American Federation of Labor was organized, based upon the principle of trade autonomy, the 1884 annual convention adopted a resolution that the trades should fix May 1, 1886, as a definite day and bend their efforts toward establishing an eight-hour day upon that date. The movement aroused enthusiasm and hope, and was stirring the working people all over the country. As the result of this united effort, trade unions increased greatly their numbers and powers. Lectures and talks were delivered, literature distributed and agitations held for the eight-hour cause. The opposition and the treatment of the leaders were of such a nature as to develop among them devotion and a spirit of consecration to the cause.

Eight hours was forcing its way with irresistible power into workshops and factories. Many trade agreements were signed before May 1, but the dreadful Haymarket disaster in Chicago checked this unprecedented progress. Nevertheless, three national unions established the eight-hour day during that campaign—the cigarmakers, the German typographers, and the stone-cutters.

The labor movement and the eight-hour cause were not permanently retarded. The A. F. of L. decided to select some one international each year, and to concentrate all efforts on securing the eight-hour day in that industry. As time went by this policy was no longer advisable, and securing the shorter workday is now the concern of the organizations in each trade.

As the years have gone by, the eight-hour philosophy which originated in the misery and weary toil of workers has become an accepted principle of society and industry. Employers have learned that the short-hour worker is a better, more productive, more valuable worker than the one who drudges long hours for low wages. The short-hour worker has more vitality, more ability, more resources, to put into his work—he accomplishes more in a shorter period of time. As a natural result, decreasing hours of daily work invariably results in increasing wages.

When employers have to pay higher wages to workers they place a higher estimate upon those services and increase managerial efficiency and secure improved machinery, tools, and methods in order to make labor power more effective. Thus the dignity of Labor, of which vote-seekers love to discourse, assumes reality through the economic collective power of workers who secure for themselves a shorter workday and higher wages.

Many apologists for long hours and low wages claim that the short workday and high wages necessarily result in higher costs of production and high selling prices and hence are contrary to the best interest of society. That theory is contradicted by facts—the individual production of the short hours, highly paid workers, is vastly greater than that of the long hours

worker who always works under less advantageous conditions. Placing a high estimate upon human labor power stimulates the invention of machinery and the discovery of better methods. The cumulative effect of improvements is cheaper and increased production, hence lower selling prices and the benefits of all society.

The shorter workday movement originated in the need of overworked employes, and has been carried on through their unions assisted by other agencies that the workers have been able to convert to their cause. For workers under the government it is not possible to use the same methods of determining contractual relations as are used in dealing with private employers. For these workers legislation has been enacted to secure them less burdensome hours of work—but even in this case the initiative and the burden of work in securing the legislation have fallen upon organized labor. Legislation for shorter workdays in government employment is not only secured because of the economic power of the workers but it is enforced by the same power. Merely enacting a law does not guarantee the benefits of its enforcement—that depends upon the vigilance of those to be benefited. This is manifest in the continuous efforts of organized labor to prevail upon government officials to provide for the eight-hour day in government work and contracts. Meanwhile there are all the perils from the courts and Attorneys General that minimize and limit its application.

When an attempt is made to regulate by law relations between employers and employes in private industry, the difficulties are increased. Obviously the primary difficulty with securing results by legislation is its indirectness. Instead of dealing directly with the employer who has power to establish an eight-hour day in his industry, influence must be used with political representatives as well as the employers' lobbyists, and then upon government administrators and upon their deputies who are supposed to enforce the law. Violations of laws must be righted through the slow methods of litigation, which have regard for precedent and red tape rather than for justice and human rights.

Consider a few well-known examples of eight-hours by law: Colorado has an eight-hour day for miners, yet the whole country has been stirred by the courageous fight of the Colorado miners to secure, among other things, an eight-hour workday. Never will there be an eight-hour workday in the Colorado mines until there are miners' unions which force mine operators to operate their mines on an eight-hour basis and retain in their own power the enforcement of the regulation.

Consider what has happened in some shipyards which had government contracts requiring the eight-hour day. Workmen were employed upon the federal government work six or eight hours, and for two, three, or four hours more upon other work, not covered by such contracts.

Consider this statement of Secretary Iffland of the Journeymen Bakers' International Union, one who has had experience with the law of New York to establish a ten-hour day in all bakeries:

"The local unions of the state of New York through agitation spent considerable money and time to be successful in passing the law, in which we succeeded in 1896. A

that time we were of the opinion that by giving through our efforts the ten-hour day by law to the bakery workers of that state, they would realize what the organization could do to that effect, and by that would become members of our organization, but we had to find out very soon that we had made the mistake of our lives, as from that day on the members dropped from the organization, and the unorganized threw up to those who tried to organize them that they don't need an organization any more as they have the ten-hour workday by law.

"Not alone this, but members who used all their energy to pass the law have been insulted as corrupt politicians, etc., and the radical labor papers of course denounced at that time, such action taken by organized labor as nothing could be expected from the political organizations under the present system of society. We very soon had to find out that we were confronted to regain our strength and make good the loss of membership, as well as prestige in our organization in the state of New York, although the organization was weak, to institute agitation for a nine-hour workday, and it has proved that only through the effort of organized labor were we successful in gaining the shorter workday, and we welcomed the day when that law was declared unconstitutional."

Experience with legislation has taught that statutes are very much akin to repositories for exalted New Year resolutions unless there is some force that can and will give life and influence in the affairs of the people.

Another difficulty with the legislative method is the diffusion of effort. There are comparatively few people interested in the matter, and yet the whole body politic must be interested, educated and aroused to action.

Contrast this with the simple, direct methods of economic action. Those workers who want the shorter workday know why they want it, and they want it so intensely that they are ready to fight for it. Forceful independent men and women, they assume the responsibility of their own welfare and make sacrifices to secure their rights. By agreement or by strike, they secure what they need, and because they have won it themselves, they value it and maintain it. They are organized in such a way that they can give expression to their will and secure results in the most direct way possible.

Two influences have been operating to develop sentiment in favor of establishing in private industry, legislative regulation of contractual relations; one, an ardent enthusiasm to accomplish big results by one revolutionizing regulation, the other a sort of moral flabbiness that refuses to assume responsibility for its own life but endeavors to cast upon society not only all responsibility for the environment in which people live and work, but also responsibility for securing for them conditions that are desirable and helpful.

The latter is a repudiation of the characteristics that enabled Americans to get results. They never feared the hard places but dared to wrestle with a primeval country. They were red-blooded men and women with ruggedness in their wills. They were ready to fight for right and justice and equality, ready to defend what was rightfully theirs. This is the spirit that has made the American labor movement the most aggressive labor organization in the world, and has made its members the most efficient workers to be found anywhere. The American labor movement has done things for the workers despite hostility of employers and indifference of society.

Then as to the other influence—the desire to secure the big thing at one "fell swoop." That has appealed to the imagination of dreamers and those who are infected with intellectual phantasmagoria.

They forget that after all permanent changes and progress must come from within man. You can't "save" people—they must save themselves. Unless the working people are organized to express their desires and needs and organized to express their will, any other method tends to weaken initiative.

And this is not a narrow policy, unmindful of the difficulties and hardships that encompass overworked, exploited workers. The organized labor movement has done much for the unorganized; in incalculable ways the unorganized have been the beneficiaries of the fights and struggles of the organized.

Because of public opinion that has been formulated and roused by organized labor, the old workday of fourteen to sixteen hours has practically passed away. The twelve-hour workday obtains in but few industries, whereas ten, nine, and eight hour days have been secured by organizations. Then the benefit is necessarily bestowed upon allied trades, because of association in the same industry. The burden of the eight-hour fight has been borne by organized labor. Now there are few who deny Labor's claims, and there are many sympathetic scientists and publicists ready to substantiate them. This is a heritage the organized bestow upon the workers of today.

Organized labor created the sentiment for an eight-hour day—it has made possible and secured the eight-hour day for many trades. Without organized labor it would be impossible to maintain an eight-hour day in any trade or industry. The labor movement, which is the organized workers directing and controlling their own affairs and destinies, is the only dependable defense and protection of those who work for wages.

If the workers surrender control over working relations to legislative and administrative agents, they put their industrial liberty at the disposal of state agents. They strip themselves bare of means of defense—they can no longer defend themselves by the strike. To insure liberty and personal welfare, personal relations must be controlled only by those concerned.

But after all, even if it is the quicker way, is the quick way always the best way? Suppose you have a boy for whom you are fondly ambitious. You wish him to be a business or a professional success—do you start him in either at the age of ten, or do you wait upon the process of education? When he finally embarks in business or a profession, do you dictate and regulate each feature, or do you advise and leave the boy to solve his own problem and make his own decisions?

So with the eight-hour or shorter workday in private employment. It is as stated in the beginning, the fundamental objective for workers who are seeking better things. But when forced upon them by law, or given them without their appreciating its value, they frequently look upon it as injustice or hardship. They have not been able to make agreements for the adjustment of wages, hence they apprehend that decreasing the hours of work means to them decreased pay.

Often securing the eight-hour day by outside agencies means that organization is retarded or checked, which in time means that continued progress and future betterment will be practically impossible.

Doing for people what they can and ought to do for themselves is a dan-

gerous experiment. In the last analysis the welfare of the workers depends upon their own initiative. Whatever is done under the guise of philanthropy or social morality which in any way lessens initiative is the greatest crime that can be committed against the toilers. Let social busy-bodies and professional "public morals experts" in their fads reflect upon the perils they rashly invite under this pretense of social welfare.

Some say that the state is an agency through which the people obtain results—that it exists for their service. But the state is not some impersonal thing. It has no existence outside the people that compose it. Its policies and movements can be directed only by those who are organized and therefore able to exercise power and exert influence. The working people who are unorganized have no part in determining the affairs of state—they may benefit or suffer from policies but they have no voice in them.

Organization in industry to be utilized in every field of beneficent activity is the only defense and protection of the workers. Those who would really benefit the workers through legislation or through economic action should lose no opportunity to further organization of the yet unorganized. If all the welfare workers, the social uplifters, the social legislative enthusiasts would apply the efforts and money they are now diverting to other causes to the work of promoting organization, they would greatly shorten the time necessary to put all workers in a position where they could solve their own problems, fight their own battles, and promote their own welfare as free, equal men and women.

Bear in mind that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" is as essential today as when the warning was coined, or at any time in the world's history. It has its potent application to life and liberty in industry, as in the political life of our nation.

"Whether you work by the piece or work by the day,
Decreasing the hours increases the pay."

Organize, Unite, Federate, to reduce the hours of labor.

"We mean to make things over; we're tired of toil for naught,
But bare enough to live on, never an hour for thought.
We want to feel the sunshine, we want to smell the flowers;
We're sure that God has willed it, and we mean to have eight hours;
We're summoning our forces from the shipyard, shop and mill—
Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will.

The beasts that graze the hillside, the birds that wander free,
In the life that God has given, have a better lot than we;
Oh, hands and hearts are weary, as the long, long workdays roll;
If life's to be filled with drudgery, what need of a human soul?
Let the shout ring down the valleys, and echo from every hill,
Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will.'

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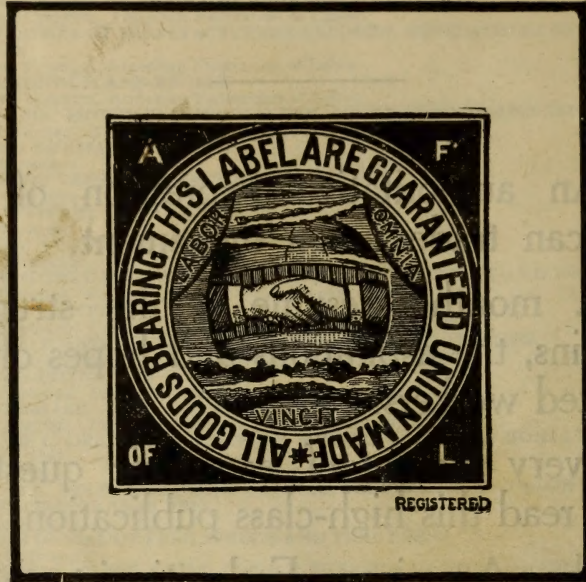
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